563
554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the
[556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although
[552] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu
[557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

suggestions there are of the effect of latter-day conceptions in superimposing themselves upon and modifying primitive law. Before going on to this, it should be added (what does not appear from the record) first, that the society of Bugufi is symbiotic, with a pastoral Tusi aristocracy, headed by a chief, dominating a semi-servile Hutu agricultural population, who largely outnumber the Tusi: secondly, that there have in Bugufi been strong forces making for change, quite apart from European administrative control. To go into these changes in detail is quite outside the scope of the present paper. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that the relative status of Tusi and Hutu is in process of rapid alteration, owing to the opportunities afforded to the Hutu under modern conditions of acquiring independent wealth, both through their labour (chiefly in Uganda) and latterly by the establishment in Bugufi of an economic crop, coffee. This change has meant maladjustment of the tribal structure. The chief sees in the economic independence of the Hutu an encroachment on his rights: and the Hutu regard the assertion of those rights as oppression. This conflict, together with the mental immaturity of the chief and the distance of the chiefdom—four days' march—from an administrative station, made it necessary for the government to establish a check in the form of a 'Native Adviser'. This system continued until early 1930, by which time an administrative station had been opened near the chief's head-quarters, and, he having shown signs of development, it was felt that an opportunity should be afforded the chief of ruling his country without the restriction of an adviser who was really a controller most of the time. These advisers, three in all, were alien to Bugufi. The first came from Bukoba, on Lake Victoria, where he later became town headman: the second was of Arab descent, having come from Urundi to live in Bugufi, where he had been settled for many years and enjoyed considerable respect: the last, a native of really fine character, who made every effort to train the chief for his work, was a Muziba from Bukoba District. All of them were charged with the dispensing of justice according to native law and custom—subject to altered concepts of crime, already imposed by the European régime, and to a general instruction to curb the oppressiveness of the chief, an instruction the interpretation of which might depend partly on the system of native law under which the adviser had been brought

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 generation alone seems to comprise about 100 persons), the existence
59/1 of a man prominent (by wealth, political functions, &c.) among the ascendants closer than the fifth, or a change of residence. The first two factors were usually realized in the span of six generations. If they were not, and if the inzu remained a small group of, say, a dozen people, these and their descendants went on referring to themselves as 'people of' an ancestor of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. One informant told us that his own inzu, already six generations deep, was not yet numerous enough to be split into new ones though it probably would be after two more generations. The fact that the ancestor of a new inzu was chosen, and was not simply the son of the ancestor of the former inzu, shows that there was a definite emphasis on the personal prominence of the ancestor.

Among the Tutsi, it seems that inzu tended to grow rather large before segmenting. In their intrigues for power, it was an advantage [559] to be connected by agnatic links to many and important people. Consequently, before initiating the formation of a new inzu, the Tutsi were very cautious: they did not want to diminish their social power by severing their connexions with the members of their present inzu. Besides, a change of residence was a less compelling reason for the Tutsi to split the inzu: they were not attached to a particular region to the same extent as the Hutu; when appointed to different offices, they often had to move from one part of the country to another and they frequently travelled to the court.

The formation of a new inzu was not necessarily a segmentation resulting in the concomitant formation of two new units of the same age and importance. It could happen that among the inzu 'people of A', those of the sixth generation who were the descendants of B preferred to think of themselves as 'people of B' because B was a famous warrior and they were numerous enough to constitute an inzu of their own. This did not compel those of the sixth generation who were descendants of C and D to do the same. They would go on considering themselves 'people of A'. After a couple more generations, when the number of the descendants of F had increased, they would refer to themselves as 'people of F' who was a rich owner of cows, and the descendants of G as 'people of G' because he had been an important province chief, whereas the descendants of C would some day take the name of 'people of E' if they moved into another region.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi informants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty. Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting intermarriage with Twa as very insulting.

It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole, Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 554 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

557 858 [556] [571]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1935, pp. 85-86.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

such a way that he could become the patron of a few Hutu who would work for him and cultivate his fields. On the other hand, while the lord of such a Tutsi would not get many material advantages from him, his social prestige was enhanced by an increase in his following, and by being advised by a trusty Tutsi he was able to exert a greater influence in the different intrigues which played such an important part in his life.

(f) Feudal and political structures

We have said earlier that the Ruanda clientage system occupied an intermediate position between the public and private spheres. It must now appear more clearly why *buhake* was not just a private agreement between two persons, such as a loan. The element of pressure, although not going usually as far as the use of physical force, was certainly an important aspect of that relationship. There was also a constant interplay of the feudal structure of the two political ones (administrative and military). When, as frequently happened, one was at the same time administratively subjected to and a client of one's hill-chief, a client's obligations were not merely added to a subject's tribute: the total amount was reduced. This was a very favourable situation for the subject-client. All the great political chiefs were also rich lords. Their political offices helped them to increase their clientage, as is particularly evident in the case of the army-chief who could require cows from the army members merely in order to be able to gain more clients. On the other hand their wealth helped them to obtain important offices and to keep them.

It would be impossible, for these reasons, to describe adequately the working of the two political structures in Ruanda without describing the feudal system as well. It might even be said that the *buhake* is more fundamental in the sense that many political relations have been patterned on the client—lord relation. For instance, the army chief was really a lord for the members of the herdsmen's section of his army.

In spite of the psychological and perhaps historical precedence of the feudal system, it has been described after political organization because, as I wish to focus attention on the political organization, it seemed that the role of the feudal system in that respect would emerge more clearly.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class 557 inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her [54 own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a 565] woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of 577 being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi*?—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

592 593 428 [591] 562 593 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 562 [564] The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 557 578 [183] [595] Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide. Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

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mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

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554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
593 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is
said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."